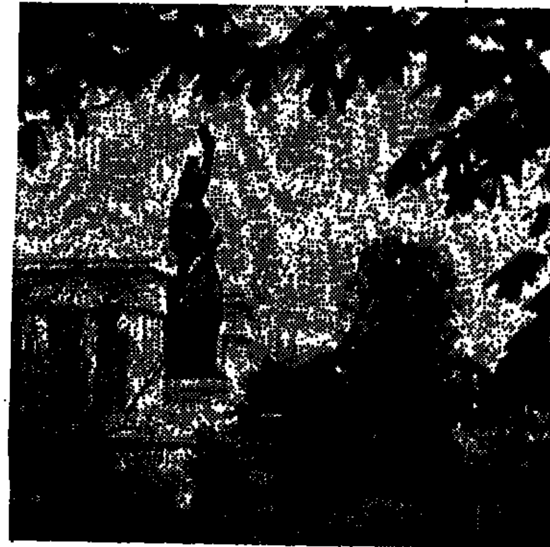


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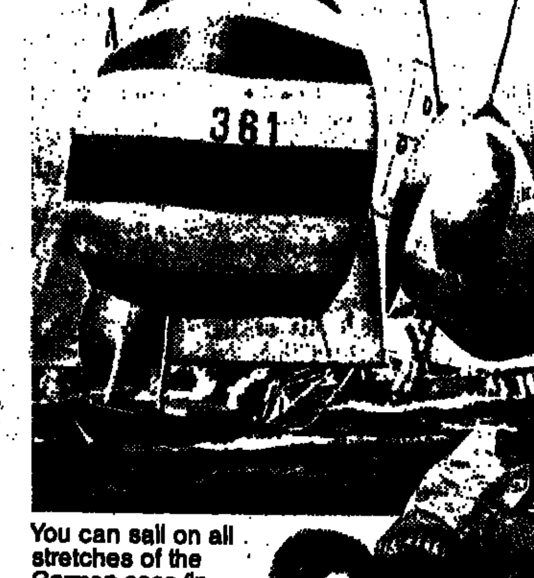










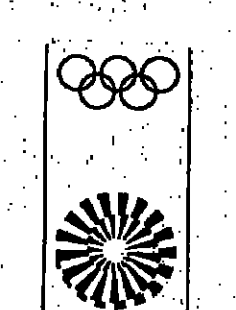


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The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

[illegible]burg, 16 September 1971
[illegible] Year - No. 492 - By air

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Berlin pact ends Europe's role as major hot spot

As far as the Four Powers are concerned the political part of the Berlin agreement is now over and done with. All that remains on the agenda is a number of protocol issues and consultations to ensure that the agreements reached between Bonn and East Berlin tally with the framework outlined in the Four-Power agreement.

Backdrops on the international stage are already being arranged for what is to follow the Berlin agreement and there is a good deal of subject matter from which to choose.

Pride of place is occupied by the proposed European security conference as far as the Soviet Union is concerned. For the United States troop cuts in Europe is a more urgent topic than ever before.

In Paris Leonid Brezhnev's visit is the next item on the agenda and for the Federal government in Bonn ratification of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties is the next step.

At the same time, however, Bonn must enter into negotiations with East Berlin and make contact with Prague and the UN is discussing admission of the two German states.

Tough though the talks on Berlin traffic between Bonn and East Berlin may be the tug-of-war over whether and when the GDR is to be accorded full diplomatic recognition will prove of greater international importance in view of the prior decision made by the Four Powers.

This will certainly be the chief subject of domestic debate and foreign policy activity.

Berlin, one might conclude, has now ceased to be the hub of international affairs. This, however, is to confuse cause and effect. The Berlin agreement is merely part of further-reaching strategic manoeuvres by the United States and the Soviet Union.

Europe may claim to have become more peaceful, indeed more secure, as a result. In reality, however, the great powers have now turned to other issues in which Moscow, Peking and Washington are jointly involved.

Over and above the technical and procedural issues involved arms cut talks are aimed at the political target of scaling down crises and East-West confrontation in Europe over the past twenty years in order to deal with strategic concepts elsewhere that have grown more urgent.

In view of further-reaching international political arrangements Europe can be assumed to have declined in interest from first to third place in both Moscow and Washington.

The strategic considerations of the world powers account both for Moscow's willingness to oblige on a number of aspects of the Berlin agreement and, say, for the escapades Rumania is able to embark on.

Nicolae Ceausescu owes his leeway neither to his laughable armed forces nor to the force of world public opinion, which is so incapable of taking action that it would easily stomach a second Czechoslovakia. Rumania's strong point is its leaders' ability to play off Moscow, Peking and Washington against each other and so secure a modicum of independence.

Both situations have been relegated by Moscow to a minor plane subordinate to considerations of what is an extremely sensitive rule of three in world affairs.

Berlin and the containment of the GDR's Saxon nationalism is thus a minor problem, as is the not uneffective pinprick policy pursued by the Rumanians.

It follows that solutions in the political meaning of the word have yet to be reached. The concessions made by one side or the other merely herald the intention of relegating the problems in question to a lower level on the list of priorities.

General Secretary Brezhnev is off to Paris, President Nixon to Peking and the Soviet Union is trying to involve the Warsaw Pact countries and Mongolia in the Sino-Soviet conflict.

The world powers' policies are determined by their overall strategic concepts. Europe is no longer a theatre of continual hot spots; it is terrain in which bonuses can be notched up in the play for the greater sphere of influence.

It can, for instance, be proved that this extension of spheres of influence is a determining factor in Chinese policy towards Europe.

This, then, is the background against which intra-German negotiations are to be conducted. Criteria extending well beyond the two German states must accordingly be borne in mind.

First and foremost this means that Willy Brandt cannot bank on good bilateral relations with the Soviet Union; the Chancellor must bear in mind that Germany occupies only a certain position in the game of political poker which the great powers are engaged.

The value of the German card can only be boosted by means of stronger links with the West. In the context of this country's policy on Berlin and Germany the Berlin agreement marks the conclusion of a tendency to finalise "reunification" or "improvements in intra-German relations" at the current level.

There is some justification in talking in terms of growing American dissatisfaction with Europe. As regards the further progress of the Brandt-Scheel administration's Ostpolitik and German policy the Americans can be expected to show less interest than hitherto. So can the French.

France has long ceased to show much interest in the West German viewpoint on the Oder-Neisse line. America has all but committed itself to the two-state theory (in connection with dual German membership of the United Nations) by virtue of its new China policy.

We are neither the dearest nor most helpless political baby of the Americans. This is the consequence of the Berlin agreement that is of primary importance for the future.

Following the Berlin agreement we will be operating in a zone of diminished Western interest and this is the political dynamite of the next steps Bonn will be taking on the ice-rink of world affairs.

Alois Schardt

(Publik, 3 September 1971)

IN THIS ISSUE

Ambassadors Jean Sauvagnargues of France, Sir Roger Jackling of Britain, Pyotr Abrassimov of the Soviet Union and Kenneth Rush of the United States are here seen signing the Four-Power agreement on Berlin in the former Control Council building on 3 September. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Berliners wait and see

The Four-Power agreement on Berlin has been signed and an authorised German-language version produced, with a glittering array of foreign words at points in the text where controversy has arisen.

Now everyone can read for themselves the relatively short text of the treaty and the much further-reaching appendices. Details so far released have been vague; the finished product is an incontestable fact.

Scepticism greeted the initial details and is doubtless still the overriding response of the people of Berlin who are mainly affected.

This spring West Berliners were still subjected to intolerable control procedures and made to wait unconscionable lengths of time when travelling to and from the city merely because a Bundestag sub-committee or a peaceable group of state assemblymen had convened in the former Reich capital.

Whether it has been Stalin's blockade, Khrushchev's ultimatum or Ulbricht's ominous talk of the Western suburbs of the GDR capital the story has been much the same for nearly a quarter of a century.

Is this all now to be a thing of the past? Is a Federal Republic passport now to be accepted as a valid travel document for West Berliners in Moscow? It is easy to understand why the people of Berlin would sooner wait and see. They feel sure there must be a snag somewhere.

The snag is the geographical location of the city, something which can hardly be changed. The treaty, on the other hand, is unquestionably a considerable step forward, not least in the direction of peace and conciliation in Europe.

Viewed soberly, though, it is worth no more than the power of America, Britain and France to enforce it.

There are hopes that this agreement, together with the Moscow and Warsaw treaties, will mark the beginning of a new deal in relations between this country and the Soviet Union.

The once insuperable hurdle of mutual distrust could gradually be demolished if only the Soviet Union were, in the course of time, to show signs of serious intentions of so doing. We are certainly more than willing to compete peacefully.

But the Soviet leaders must be made to realise without a shadow of doubt that the carrot has come too soon after the stick as far as the Germans are concerned for the Kremlin to establish trust and confidence, which are the object of its far-reaching plans for economic cooperation. Confidence can only be built up gradually and over a period of time.

(Die Welt, 2 September 1971)

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Indo-Soviet pact is a breakthrough for Moscow in Asia

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The most dubious by-product to date of America's attempt to get on better with China has been the pact between India and the Soviet Union.

On the face of it the pact reduces the risk of a war between India and Pakistan. It may not contain specifically military clauses but Article IX, which provides for "suitable and effective measures to keep the peace and maintain the security" of the signatories in the event of attack or the threat of an attack, assures India of sufficient Soviet backing to feel relatively safe.

Pakistan can now hardly risk responding to Indian support for the guerrilla fighters operating in East Pakistan with military moves of any consequence.

This short-term aim may have been what mainly interested New Delhi but the long-term goals pursued by the Soviet leadership are of greater significance.

The Soviet Union is interested on the one hand in consolidating and extending its influence in this part of the world; on the other, and perhaps primarily, it would like to contain the Chinese sphere of influence.

In reality the Indo-Soviet pact is Moscow's answer (more may follow) to the links Washington and Peking are in the process of forging.

The major power of Western "imperialism" is on the point of parleying with the most serious enemy of the Soviet Union in the "socialist camp." The mere prospect of this turn of events has been sufficient to put the cat among the pigeons with a vengeance as far as the Soviet leaders are concerned.

Even though Moscow can be fairly certain that talks between President Nixon and Chairman Mao are not going to result in a Sino-American alliance the Soviet Union immediately set about precautionary measures.

The pact with India is a warning shot intended to remind all concerned that the *Soviet Union is also in the running.* Where Asia is concerned China and America are not on their own; Russia also has a word or two to say on the subject.

The obvious choice for a demonstrative measure of this kind was the second-most populous country in Asia. India has been on the worst of terms with China for years. Indo-Soviet relations have grown steadily closer.

Work has been in progress on the draft for two years, which is why the pact was so swiftly concluded and has now come into force a mere nine days after ratification. The preparations may not have been all that intensive but both countries have been a little reluctant to forge such close links.

One reason for this initial reluctance may, as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, have been that Moscow was none too keen on committing itself to fresh and conceivably even more telling political and financial burdens East of Suez following its expensive and dangerous commitment in the Middle East.

Besides, Moscow has until recently harboured hopes of easing Pakistan out of the Chinese embrace.

India, as the leading non-aligned power, was clearly afraid of being branded as a traitor to the cause of non-alignment and a new satellite of Moscow's.

Sino-American rapprochement cast these inhibitions to the winds in both countries. What is more, as far as India is concerned, America has made not the slightest attempt to advocate a political solution to the East Pakistan conflict in Islamabad, a conflict that has saddled India with the tremendous burden of seven million refugees.

Indeed, the Americans continued plying Pakistan with armaments and in the impression now is that this is the price paid for Pakistan's services as an intermediary in helping Dr Kissinger to make contact in Peking.

This is scant consolation for India and if the tale told in Washington is true and India first offered the United States a friendship pact and did not approach Moscow until after being given the cold shoulder by America India has been virtually driven by the Americans into the arms of the Soviet Union.

India is still far from being a member of the "socialist camp." There are no Soviet aides in India in the way instructors have been despatched to Egypt. But there is a risk that India may in future adopt a rather one-sided political approach.

The Soviet Union had made a breakthrough. It now has pride of place on the Indian sub-continent. Consequences are inevitable, though of course it remains to be seen what they will be. To have some idea one would have to know more about the Soviet strategic concept for this part of the world.

The plan to extend Soviet influence in Southern Asia undoubtedly involves an advance towards the Indian Ocean, though, and India certainly has the goods as far as naval bases are concerned.

Even viewing the situation less in terms of international affairs developments cannot fail to be promising for the Soviet Union. Its influence on Indian home affairs is on the increase and this is something that cannot simply be shrugged off.

All told the Soviet Union does not appear to figure among the losers in the game of international political ... started since the announcement of President Nixon's intention to visit Peking.

It remains to be seen whether the ... chipped in by the United States ... prove to have been worthwile.

Klaus Natorp

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 August 1971)

Cairo needs Bonn

In mid-September or thereabouts the Political Council of the Arab League will recommend member-countries to resume diplomatic relations with this country. A bare fortnight later Secretary General Hassouna of the Arab League will be meeting Bonn Foreign Secretary Walter Scheel in New York.

His intention is clear enough. This country is to be harnessed in the latest Arab international diplomatic offensive to implement the UN resolution on Israel withdrawing from the occupied territories.

There would seem, however, to be no reason to fear that Bonn might come to terms with the Arabs at Israel's expense. Bonn has on several occasions offered to mediate in the Arab-Israeli conflict but has no intention of nailing its colours to the mast of UN resolutions it did not help to draw up.

On the other hand the Federal government well realises that it can only really be of assistance to Israel once it has come to terms with the Arabs. The break-off of diplomatic relations between the Arab world and this country was a ... misunderstanding. Any return to normal would be in the interest of peace in the Middle East.

Hartmut Degen

(Kieler Nachrichten, 1 September 1971)

Peking's diplomatic offensive is now making its presence felt in Africa, where Chinese diplomats are in the process of outmanoeuvring their Soviet opposite numbers in socialist-orientated countries.

Moscow and Peking are busy utilising separate development aid programmes to increase their spheres of influence in the forty-odd African states that prior to the wave of independence declarations in the sixties were exclusively controlled by the West.

Both the Soviet Union and its European satellites and Mao Tse-tung's China, not to mention the West, have learnt from their mistakes in development aid in the Third World since the granting of independence to virtually all former colonies.

Peking was made to sense the mistrust generated by Premier Chou En-lai in Africa by comments in the course of his 1963 safari to the effect that the continent was ripe for revolution.

It was not long before Chinese diplomats in Dahomey, Ghana, Burundi and the Central African Republic were obliged to pack their bags and leave.

What was true in the sixties is still true today. The GDR embassy in the Central African Republic was closed earlier this month and President Bokassa bade an unceremonious farewell to East Berlin's diplomats. The East Berlin government had made unfulfilled promises of development aid, President Bokassa stated by way of explanation.

Even so, Moscow and its satellites retain far more influence in Africa than Peking's Maoists. Some three dozen African countries trade with the Soviet Union and Russia has diplomatic representation in more than thirty of them.

Peking and Moscow compete for influence in Africa

Over the past ten years Peking's development aid has amounted to barely a quarter of what Moscow and its allies have had to offer. In the course of a decade the Soviet Union and associates have ploughed roughly 9,000 million Marks into Africa.

Yet Peking is gaining ground. Roughly half Red China's development aid now goes to Africa. The Chinese have built textile factories in Tanzania and Mali, a cigarette factory in Guinea and the Mao Tse-tung Stadium in Zanzibar.

In Mauretania China has launched experimental agricultural projects and in Zambia the Chinese are building road and rail links and boosting rice production.

Now that America and China are coming closer together and President Nixon has come out in favour of admitting Peking to the United Nations more and more African countries are thinking in terms of establishing diplomatic relations with the Asian economic giant.

Peking's major foreign aid project is, moreover, to be found in Africa. In Tanzania the Chinese are building and financing 1,000 kilometres of railway between Dar-es-Salaam and Lusaka, Zambia, a 1,200-million-Mark project the World Bank rejected as uneconomic.

Peking is determined to set itself up as a reliable partner in Africa and this show project is being carried out in record time by 10,000 Chinese workers wearing identical uniforms.

Loans for the Tanzam railway have been granted free of interest by Peking, are repayable over a period of thirty years and coupled, moreover, with purchases of Chinese goods.

In the industrial sector, however, the Russians are well ahead of the Chinese. Moscow and its European allies have been responsbile for more than fifteen steelworks, five oil rafineries and four dozen testile and foodstuffs factories.

Moscow and the European members of the Eastern Bloc have always been more than generous in providing university scholarships and training facilities for guerrilla fighters.

It is thus hardly suprising that freedom fighters in Southern Africa occasionally speak better Saxon than English and better Russian than French.

But as in Tanzania's case (the country's air force is now trained entirely in China) Peking is also beginning to provide similar facilities.

The Western sphere of influence, a term African nationalists naturally frown upon, remains far larger than those of Marx and Mao put together but in many instances the Communists resort to new and interesting methods.

In Tanzania, for instance, the entire educational system is being flooded with East German propaganda in textbooks in the local language. For lack of staff and money the representatives of this country in Tanzania are virtually unable to do anything about this state of affairs.

Communists, whether they be from Moscow, Prague, Warsaw and East Berlin or Peking, are certainly faring better than in the early sixties.

But they still come a cropper when, as recently in the Sudan, they try under the cover of their diplomatic missions to go beyond development aid and intervene in the internal affairs of the host countries.

After a decade of Uhuru, freedom from the colonial powers, the emerging African nations, as Peking-orientated Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere has made it clear, have no intention of becoming satellites of the Eastern Bloc imperialists.

Peter Seidlitz

(Der Tagesspiegel, 27 August 1971)

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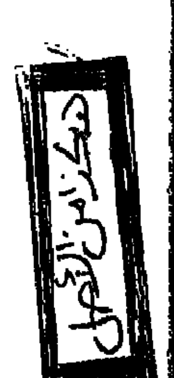
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■ HOME AFFAIRS

CDU business affairs manager Rüdiger Göb calls for top-level changes in party organisation



Rüdiger Göb (Photo: Archiv/Sven Simon)

"The Opposition is still like an automobile that is being driven by several motorists at one time. One is doing the steering, another has his foot on the accelerator, a third is pumping the brakes and yet another is operating the trafficator. If this car is first past the chequered flag in 1973 it will be mainly as a result of luck."

Not an encouraging letter to receive if you are a member of the Christian Democrats, but this memo arrived through the post on the weekend of 27 August and landed in the letterboxes of all members of the party presidium and the Federal committee, the delegates at the party political conference, the Federal state party organisations and the *Kreis* (district) associations of the CDU.

The writer of this letter is not a scornful critic of Kurt Georg Kiesinger, Bruno Heck or Rainer Barzel, but Rüdiger Göb in his office of CDU *Bundesgeschäftsführer* (business affairs manager).

This pessimistic prediction by the most senior party manager is based on the assumption that at the forthcoming party political conference of the CDU in Saarbrücken nothing may be done to rearrange the leadership of the party and to coordinate the leading positions in the party.

Rüdiger Göb is of the opinion that the unsatisfactory institutions and the consequent weakness in the leadership of his party might become permanent if the party political conference neglects to make a definite decision.

At first glance it may look as though this memo from the temporarily retired ministerial director of the Bonn Ministry of the Interior is designed mainly to win himself greater power and influence.

He is in fact calling not only for reorganisation at the highest level – that is to say the chairmanship of the party, the chairmanship of the parliamentary party and the leadership of the Opposition – but also of more lowly offices. And high in his reckoning is the abolition of the office of General Secretary (at present held by Bruno Heck).

That could only mean that he wants additional power granted to the *Bundesgeschäftsführer*, who, in the present setup is subordinate to the General Secretary.

Without doubt this is what Rüdiger Göb has mind, but it is hardly a matter of personal ambition on his part. In the meantime it has become generally known that he has had least three good offers of important posts elsewhere. The pay would be better than with the CDU and the anguish and effort would be less!

He was able to choose between a chair at a University with his own department, a top managerial position with a large association or the managing director's position in two smaller allied companies.

Furthermore it would be most unlike Herr Göb to chase after political ambitions. He is far too much an organisational expert to try to talk his way into the party leadership. But when he organises he likes to do it alone, taking the full responsibility himself, otherwise he feels himself too hidebound by outside factors. For this reason he intended in the spring to say "auf Wiedersehen" to his present position in the party.

On account of the forthcoming election of a new party chairman he agreed to remain till the autumn at the urging of Bruno Heck.

But the party will only be able to count on Rüdiger Göb's assistance beyond the autumn if the Saarbrücken conference decides that the post of General Secretary should be abolished and not be replaced. Thus the CDU will have to decide at the conference not only on the future of persons, but also on the future structure of the party leadership. This is a matter which would have been put off or kept on one side in the old CDU manner that is no longer approved.

With the memo he sent out Herr Göb wants to make the situation clear to every last little borough association of the CDU. Obviously he does not want to be subjected to allegations that he is quitting the listing ship of the party without giving prior warning, should the party political conference decide not to reform the leadership.

Just how difficult the situation in the CDU camp and particularly at the top is can be seen by the fact that Göb is willing to subject himsolf to accusations that he is solely out to "shoot down" his present boss, Bruno Heck.

In his memo he states that in his desire to see an end of the position of General Secretary it is the position he wants to get rid of and not the person of Bruno Heck himself.

This is not surprising in a man who tried his utmost eighteen months ago to persuade the party that its disastrous organisation must be tightened up and made more effective.

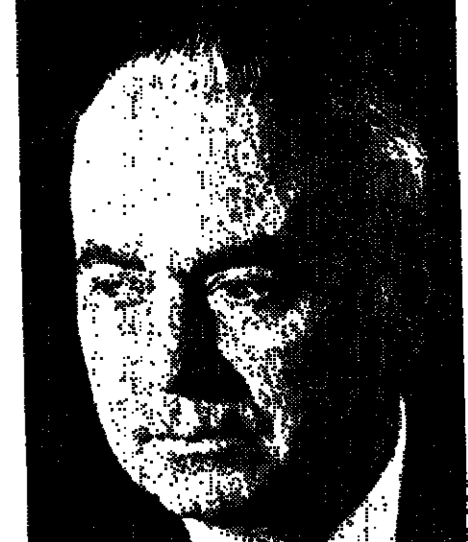
Although Heck and Göb by no means feel any personal animosity towards each other it can scarcely be expected that the pensive schoolmaster in the General Secretary's chair and the sharp planning and organisation man in the role of *Bundesgeschäftsführer* will see eye to eye on how the party structure should be reorganised and modernised.

Herr Göb is, however, prevented from doing this alone because the Secretary in the present setup not General only backs up the chairman in the leadership of the party to a large extent, but also runs the party business himself.

The question arises, why does the CDU need a *Bundesgeschäftsführer* if the General Secretary also does the managerial tasks. This can largely be answered by the fact that the party did not want to throw out the man who held this position previously, the present Bundestag member Konrad Kraske, when the position of General Secretary was created in 1967 and his duties were clearly outlined in 1969.

Herr Göb has suggested many possible patterns of leadership to his party, but these have not revealed whether he is in favour of wither Rainer Barzel or Helmut Kohl as the party chairman. In his plans it is just as possible for the offices of party chairman, parliamentary party chairman in the Bundestag and the position of the leading candidate for Chancellor in the next elections to be spread out over two or three people as it is for them to be concentrated on one man.

In all these cases, however, Herr Göb is of the opinion that the position of General Secretary is superfluous. If all the three posts were held by one and the same man the extra work that would have to be delegated to others could be carried out without the help of a general secretary and in all cases he would like to see the party apparatus managed by the *Bundesgeschäftsführer* alone. Otherwise the man in this position cannot take the responsibility for the working of the party, in his opinion.



Bruno Heck (Photo: Archiv)

He may also be moved by the idea that if the 1973 election campaign is a triumph for the CDU the General Secretary will get the laurels, whereas if the right-wing has to spend another term in opposition it will be the *Bundesgeschäftsführer* who gets the brickbats.

There is no hiding the fact that Rainer Barzel has once again recognised the sign of the times before everybody else. At any rate the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Party Chairman in the Bundestag is aiming not only to take over the two major positions in the right-wing parties (party and parliamentary party chaiman) but also the role of candidate for the chancellorship.

Furthermore, taking Rüdiger Göb's suggestions into consideration, he intends to call for the election of a senior deputy for the party chairmanship.

First in line for this position would be Gerhard Stoltenberg. And it would be very difficult for Helmut Kohl to gain many victories against this team, partly because, it is rumoured, he has already promised Bruno Heck he can remain General Secretary.

Delegates at the party political conference in Saarbrücken will therefore have the choice of calling Helmut Kohl to the leadership of the party and at the same time saying goodbye to their *Bundesgeschäftsführer*, whose post could not be filled by Bruno Heck, or of coming out in favour of Rainer Barzel, which would pave the way for a structural reform of the party leadership.

Hans Dieter Kloss

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 30 August 1971)

Opposition's anti-Ostpolitik offensive boomerangs

Difficulties that have arisen for the CDU/CSU in appraising the Four-Power agreement on Berlin were foreseeable. They cannot avoid recognising that the agreement will bring improvements to the people of Berlin and crown the government's Ostpolitik with undeniable success for the first time.

Now that the Berliners can look forward to moving more freely between the West and their city and also within their city the advantage is undeniable and thus the Berlin agreement deserves the approval with which it has been greeted, with just a few exceptions, all over the world – quite independently of the links between it and the treaties of Moscow and Warsaw.

If the Opposition in Bonn still hesitates to recognise without reservations the success of the Western powers, which is at the same time a success for the Bonn government, the reason has more to do with the links forged between the Berlin settlement and the two East Bloc treaties than the instrinsic values of the Berlin agreement itself.

In all honesty the CDU/CSU must ask itself whether it can reject the Moscow and Warsaw treaties while approving of the Berlin settlement, which could probably never have come about without the prior conclusion of the treaties.

The Opposition's insistence that a satisfactory settlement of the Berlin question must be a prerequisite for ratification of the two treaties has now backfired on the CDU/CSU.

Now that the prerequisite has been fulfilled it will be harder than ever for the Opposition to take a stand against the two treaties. But it is not impossible to separate one from the other. The government itself spoke originally not only of a Berlin settlement, but also an improvement in the situation of the Germans in Germany as a prerequisite for a general tidying up of the relationship with the East, so the Opposition could continue to press for this other requirement to be met.

CDU/CSU leaders are, however, obviously not going to find it easy to steer a middle course of this kind after their initial crusade against the whole Ostpolitik. The party has now learnt the error of its ways in not discussing the Ostpolitik with the requisite degree of thoroughness.

For politicians such as Kiesinger and Strauss the government's attempts to come to a tolerable relationship with the East were folly from the outset. Thus they now find it difficult to tecognise that it was in fact possible to achieve a positive gain which they themselves must regard as worthwhile.

If the Opposition had not launched an all-out offensive on the East Bloc policy over a broad front, but had taken the more rational view that Brandt and Scheel's efforts should be viewed with the utmost scepticism and the government nonetheless deserved the best of luck in its campaign, it would be in a far better position today.

In the current situation nothing remains for the Opposition but to point out with greater emphasis than ever that the Berlin settlement is only one step along the long road mapped out by Ostpolitik, however valuable it may be in itself.

Continued on page 4

■ THE LAW

Health Ministry must remember social change in its youth protection laws

Before the end of the year the government plans to publish the details of a reform of the laws protecting the young. The government's draft proposals should take into account the views asked for by the Ministry of Health from the authorities, organisations and associations concerned with the young. There are also plans for Health Minister Käte Strobel to hold discussions with a number of young people nominated by youth protection departments.

Health Minister Käte Strobel believes that it is imperative to adapt the youth protection laws to the changing social structure and position of the young.

The whole question of protecting the young will be included in a comprehensive reform programme taking account of the far-reaching changes in public opinion.

In the Federal Republic regulations concerning the protection of the young are contained in three special Youth Protection Laws apart from a number of clauses in the penal code, labour regulations licensing laws and a number of other laws.

The three laws are the Law for the Protection of Youth, the Law on the Distribution of Publications likely to Corrupt the Young and the Law to Protect Young Workers.

It is extremely likely that the Health Ministry's proposals will be based on the views put forward by a working committee entitled *Aktion Jugendschutz* (Youth Protection Action Group).

Proposals submitted to the Ministry by Aktion Jugendschutz conform to a large extent to the regulations contained in the current law.

Youth protection will continue to consist of a general statement of places where the young are not allowed to go, a ban on the purchase or consumption of alcohol and tobacco, restrictions on visiting bars, gaming houses and cinemas and a ban on attending events with a corrupting effect.

New proposals include a ban on the purchase and consumption of drugs and a ban on hitch-hiking for the under-sixteens.

It is questionable whether proposals of this type do justice to the demands of protecting the young in the modern industrial society.

If there is to be a reform of the youth protection laws the functions of youth protection in the modern industrial society should be examined more openly than is the case in the proposed government reform. Otherwise we can do without a change in the laws.

All young people in the Federal Republic have the right to independence. This should be the basis for discussions concerning the reform of laws to protect the young.

That means that young people cannot be kept in sterile, well- protected spheres where they are brought up completely isolated from society.

They must not be subjected to a life of this type. Personal development and health must be protected. Neither society nor the State legislature can allow young people to fall victim to profiteers or irrational theories.

The first aim of youth protection must be to find out the factors threatening the personal development and health of the young. The whole iceberg of danger must be revealed and not just its tip.

The legislators will have to examine the extent to which the free development of young people in our society, a right embodied in Article Two of Basic Law, is impaired by the one-sided emphasis on profit and productivity.

It is for instance impossible to enforce a ban on smoking for the under-sixteens if at the same time the cigarette industry is allowed to advertise its products in such a way that appeals to young people particularly.

How can you then explain to a young person that the legal ban on smoking has any purpose?

Similar problems arise with the fixing of restrictions on visiting bars and licensed restaurants. Not all these premises can be equated with one another and, on the other hand, visiting a bar is not only usual today but is often the only way of meeting in a group.

This example is intended to illustrate that plain statements of fact should not be a fixed part of laws protecting the young.

It is far more important to employ scientific research in finding what dangers a particular society has for the personal development and health of young people and nipping these in the bud. Research of this type has so far been neglected.

Most of the bodies responsible for helping the young must be criticised for treating questions of youth protection superficially on the basis of the status quo.

Although the government announced in plenty of time its intention to reform the existing laws protecting the young there have been no detailed statements concerning the reform from the Catholic youth associations and organisations either.

Only the Catholic Youth League has so far made a public statement on this question. It has also commissioned the Catholic Bureau in Bonn with drawing up its position on the reform proposals. Up to now this commission has foundered because of the inactivity of the Catholic Working Committee on Youth Protection.

Research commissioned by both central and Federal state governments is now to provide as quickly as possible the scientific information that has been lacking up to now.

When the findings of these research projects are ready, it will be necessary to make a clear political decision between the various views expressed.

It is also to be hoped that the Christian Democrats and Christian Socialists will have composed their own views on the Youth Protection Law by then. At present we look in vain for alternatives from the Opposition.

A big public stir has been caused by discussions on the reform of Paragraph 184 of the penal code, the law prohibiting the publication and distribution of pornography.

In connection with this Käte Strobel has already announced that a minor amendment to the Law on the Distribution of Publications Likely to Corrupt the Young.

It was originally planned to make the Law on the Distribution of Publications Likely to Corrupt the Young dependent on the findings of a research project

PUBLIK

dealing with the effects of media and youth protection.

After the Health Ministry and its experts realised how extensive such a plan would be, it was seen that the money set aside for the project would not be sufficient. At present only the existing research findings are being catalogued and analysed.

Whether or not there will be a law against the distribution of depraving literature among the young depends on whether the necessary legal regulations are fitted into other laws or not.

Changes in the youth labour protection laws are now being prepared at the instigation of the Ministry of Labour. A commission set up by the *Bundesjugendring* has submitted a number of proposals for reform in this field. Amendments to the current law are expected to result in better chances for the personal development and health of young people.

Heinrich Sudmann

(Publik, 27 August 1971)

Opposition's anti-Ostpolitik offensive boomerangs

Continued from page 3

Without this settlement, as the government itself recognised, ratification of the Moscow Treaty would have been irresponsible.

But this does not mean that with the conclusion of the Berlin talks the whole Ostpolitik can be toasted as a great success. Germany's problems are not confined to Berlin. Originally the Bonn government itself set as the actual aim of the Ostpolitik rapprochement between the two parts of Germany. We are no nearer to realising this now than we were two years ago.

Nor will the gap between the two Germanies be closed even if the umbrella agreement on Berlin is filled in with the technical details, dots and commas, at the discussions between representatives of East and West Germany in the next few weeks.

The government still has to remove the greatest stumbling block in the way of the Ostpolitik. In the long run the initiative shown by the government will only be judged successful if it can be linked with agreements with the GDR to make life for people in the other part of Germany easier.

Before we can even think of this the Federal Republic is likely to have to pay a further price. As a consequence of the Berlin agreement it is likely that the two Germanies will not have to wait long before taking their seats at the United Nations.

East Berlin would undoubtedly see this as a further upgrading of the status of the GDR. And the division of Germany into two States would be underlined more than ever before.

It is quite likely that the pendulum of public opinion on the government's Ostpolitik, which at present is hovering near the "good" mark will swing backwards and forwards several times before it comes to rest at a carefully weighed-up judgment.

Wolfgang Wagner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 26 August 1971)

Study reveals public's scant legal knowledge

Judges, lawyers and other legal experts often complain that people's knowledge of the law is alarmingly poor and that there is widespread apathy towards law and justice. Is this correct? Is the complaint justified?

To answer these questions the Working Group for Legal Sociology at Cologne University organised public opinion surveys in all parts of the Federal Republic.

Though the analysis of the findings is not yet complete, the first results give at least some indication of people's attitude to the law and their knowledge of the country's legal system.

First of all the study proves that many sections of the population would like to find out more about the legal system and its sometimes rather complicated problems. There can be no talk of apathy.

More than half the people in this country have had some dealings with the law at one time or another in their lives. It is therefore surprising that appearing before a court, even if the case is not criminal, is thought to be rather shameful.

Housewives more than any other group tend to be defensive when asked about their contacts with the law and react emotionally.

There is however a lack of formal knowledge of legal procedure and legal matters. With the complications of the system and the legal language that laymen find difficult to understand that is not surprising.

There is also considerable uncertainty about what the law allows or proscribes. A large section of the population thought that adultery and homosexuality between consenting adults were punishable offences even though these two laws have long been swept away by penal reform.

A majority of people in this country believes that crime can only be fought with more stringent punishment. The more liberal regime to be found in an increasing number of prisons is, in their view more of a reward for criminals and other offenders.

Fifty per cent of those people interviewed supported the introduction of flogging for the young and insisted on return of the death sentence.

But the picture changed when the interviewed sample were faced by concrete situations. Happily there is a growing number of people who would employ ex-criminals if they were in charge of a firm and who approve of weekend parole for prisoners.

The people interviewed made an astonishingly large number of sensible suggestions for helping released prisoners to find their way back into society and a free life.

A clear majority are against the black robes that conservative judges wish to retain to show the dignity of the court. An overwhelming majority also think it right that court verdicts should be exposed to criticism.

Even these few facts should encourage the legislators to turn to progressive legal reforms with more confidence than was previously the case.

But public relations work must be to the point and deal with hard facts instead of airy-fairy theory if these reforms are to be introduced.

The public also wants the judges' activity to be less bureaucratic. The distance between judges and people before the could be narrowed by abolishing large courts, banning the black robes and sawing the legs off the judge's table to reduce him from his authoritarian heights.

Paul Schallück

(Welt der Arbeit, 20 August 1971)



■ PROFILE

Egon Bahr, Willy Brandt's right-hand man



Egon Bahr (right), the man who moved from Berlin to Bonn with Chancellor Willy Brandt (Photo: Archiv/J. H. Darchinger)

Berlin is home for Egon Bahr, a Thuringian by birth who spent part of his youth in Torgau. He talks of Berlin in much the same way as a Silesian talks of Silesia.

Berlin is where he was when the Russians marched in, where he kissed his first girlfriend, where he worked for Borsig during the war and for the *Berliner Zeitung* immediately afterwards.

He spent only six weeks on the staff of *Berliner Zeitung* but it is already a legendary period. The paper was licensed by the Russians but "you could get along with them. It really grew bad when the German Communists returned from Moscow."

Bahr had trouble with the Communists and left the paper to join the ranks of the unemployed. He was paid a visit by an old friend of the family, now in the uniform of a US sergeant, who urged him to join the staff of *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which had just been launched by Hans Habe and Hans Wallenberg.

"That was a paper," Bahr recollects. "The first issue reported the dropping of the first atomic bomb, the second the end of the war."

When *Allgemeine Zeitung* was merged with *Münchner Neue Zeitung* Bahr transferred to *Der Tagesspiegel*, where he was Bonn Correspondent for a while, later working for *RIAS*, the West Berlin radio station launched by the Americans.

In the long run, though, journalism was not enough. There are, he reckons, two kinds of writers, writers who are primarily interested in the writing and writers interested first and foremost in what they are writing about.

He considers himself to belong to the latter category and concludes that there comes a time when you are more interested in doing something for yourself than merely writing about other people's mistakes.

Fascinated by Africa he went to Ghana as press attaché, determined to generate understanding for the difficulties of Berlin following the 1958 Khrushchev ultimatum.

Governing Mayor Willy Brandt of Berlin was on the lookout for a press officer to the city senate. He asked Bahr whether he was willing to take on the job. Bahr accepted without asking questions.

To understand how Egon Bahr views the situation today of the Federal Republic and its relationship to West Berlin one needs to bear in mind not what has officially been said but what has actually happened since 1948.

This discrepancy between official commentaries and what is actually done, the "gap between claims and reality," everything that has loosened the ties between the Federal Republic and the "front-line city" serves only to make Bahr gasp at what the present Opposition occasionally has to say.

Bonn policy in the fifties and sixties was in a dilemma. On the one hand the Federal government favoured confrontation with the East, on the other it was always intent on keeping the peace. This tallies only too well, for instance, with the fact that the building of the Berlin Wall was lamented but not prevented.

Verbal attacks were launched on the so-called Wall of Shame but the police stepped in as soon as anyone (students, for instance) looked likely to take the government at its word and act and as well as talk.

This policy neither prevented gunfire at the Wall and demarcation line nor put a stop to the escalation of Eastern demands culminating in the GDR's claim that West Berlin is situated on GDR territory.

Bahr is now trying to consolidate the position of the city by having all four Allies acknowledge for the first time in black and white the links that exist between West Berlin and the Federal Republic.

He recalls with a smile that it was Franz Josef Strauss, the Bavarian leader now in opposition, who many years ago made mincemeat of a Communist motion in the Bundestag to declare West Berlin the capital city of the Federal Republic.

He is surprised and not a little hurt that people who now attack him evidently know so little about the recent history of West Berlin, that, for instance, the Western *deutschmark* was not introduced in West Berlin at the same time as it was elsewhere.

For a time the new currency as circulated in West Berlin was overprinted with a large letter B (though this was in the days of the Blockade). To this day, however, Berliners do not have passports issued by the Federal government, only ID cards, and most people are only too

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

happy to forget how ingloriously the West acted on 17 June 1953, the day of the East German uprising, and 13 August 1961, the day the Wall was built.

He is less worried about being Willy Brandt's whipping boy. The expression he uses is unusual for a man of his generation (Bahr was born in 1922). "I have," he says, "a powerful sense of serving" — both the cause and the man.

This idea, though little else, links him with his predecessor Hans Globke, who was continually at the receiving end of blows directed in reality at Konrad Adenauer.

Bahr himself will hear nothing of the comparison. He may be a Secretary of State at the Bonn Chancellor's Office but the post that occupies most of his time at the moment is that of Plenipotentiary of the Federal Republic of Germany in Berlin, particularly now that the talks with Michael Kohl, his opposite number in East Berlin, are fast heading towards the stage of negotiations.

As plenipotentiary he resides in a former barracks, a fact that bears more witness to the austerity of the early fifties than to the claims lodged by the Federal government.

The designation is a strange one, dating back to a decree by Konrad Adenauer. As republics generally have plenipotentiaries in foreign countries only the name symbolises a policy that cannot in the long run successfully defend the freedom of the city.

This, however, is the point that matters as far as Egon Bahr is concerned. He is one of the few remaining people who expect to live to see Germany reunited, though he does not expect the transformation to come about overnight. He feels sure it will be a protracted business.

German unity can only be restored, he argues, if Berlin, West Berlin at the very least, is kept going. This again depends on the Federal Republic gaining in importance. One way in which this has already been achieved is in direct negotiations with Moscow.

Bahr, a Gauloise smoker, is not a vain man but he is proud to have brought about an upgrading of the Federal Republic, in part as a result of his long talks in the Kremlin.

He is well aware of the fact that representatives of the Western Allies, while conceding that an upgrading it has been, are not uniformly keen on the idea.

Both German states are being upgraded in parallel. The pressure of the Cold War has made the GDR what it is. Were it only to gain a little more leeway now Bonn would automatically have more room to manoeuvre.

Not that Bahr thinks in terms of going it alone. He realises as well as his critics do that the Americans and their military potential provide the guarantee of freedom for Europe, the Federal Republic and West Berlin.

If their presence in Berlin is laid down in a treaty for an unlimited period of time, Bahr feels, Europe cannot but benefit. In this way a man who realises that there can be no turning the clock back would like to bring about something that has proved impossible of achievement by Cold War means.

He feels himself to be a comrade-in-arms of early post-war Christian Democrat Jakob Kaiser, whose ideas failed to gain approval in days when integration with the West was accorded absolute priority.

He advocates coming to terms with the East, realising that the German Question

Continued on page 6

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■ **BOOKS**

Public libraries are being starved by parsimony and nonchalance

Libraries are the stepchildren of our educational and cultural setup. The country that never tires of singing the praises of its poets and thinkers is not a country full of keen readers.

Statistics about the reading habits of people in this country are enough to make not only the culture vultures shudder. The marked materialistic yearning for property seems to come to an abrupt halt where *acquisition* of books is concerned.

Like citizen, like government. Whenever the word libraries crops up at debates on government spending there is a great reluctance to release public money.

In comparison with the handsome subsidies granted to our theatres, orchestras and to a certain extent museums and art galleries the amount allowed for libraries is reminiscent of alms.

In the postwar years money was made available for the construction of fifty and more new theatres, many of them pompous, bloated affairs which seemed to pay lip service more to anachronistic monumental ideals than to the requirements of contemporary theatre.

On the other hand most of our libraries are kept in partly damaged, old and rickety buildings which need restoration and offer only cramped conditions. Reading rooms, catalogue stores, bookshelves and the apparatus for lending out books do not answer even the most modest demands that could be made by our society, which is modest in its demands when it comes to reading, anyway.

No wonder our scientific libraries look more like detention centres and the only people who use them are those who have no alternative.

Woe betide students who are plagued with work for seminars or examinations or the myriad people who work in the sciences who need books for information in their subject and need to seek out documents for literary background.

Even the public libraries that serve the common or garden reader are not as public as their name suggests. They are cut off from the public by limited times of opening, limited space, a limited stock of books (that often looks as though the censor has given it a good cleanup) and limited publicity.

In spite of this nobody complains – not the readers, not the many advocates of a good education for all, not even the publicists attached to the art world.

It is only the librarians themselves who are occasionally heard to complain. One of them is the director of Munich's Stadtbibliothek, Carl Amery, who is himself a contentious publicity man. But when it comes to his own affairs he is all too patient.

Recently he wrote in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* about the state of libraries in this country with a great deal of reservation. The headline writer euphemistically headed his article "Mild crisis".

Amery gave out depressing tidings. He wrote: "In the crisis year of 1968 almost all local authorities cut back their grants for book purchases to a fraction of what it was the previous year, while other cultural pursuits, for instance the stage, only suffered slight losses ... To my knowledge there was no cry of 'shame' even on a localised basis."

Carl Amery asked: "Is such nonchalance justified?" and adds as food for thought, "Whether it is there to serve the cause of research or whether it offers books to a small community for their enjoyment, a library is a source of information. Information, we are constantly being told is a matter of life and death in today's society and tomorrow's.

"This will be a far more important consideration in the next ten or twenty years than how the local stage is faring or whether the philharmonic is thriving. Therefore why are libraries left in the doldrums?"

There is in fact no plausible reason why libraries should be so neglected, neither for the way in which the furnishings of our libraries have developed, nor for the fact that so few people seem concerned about their plight. Not even those whose business it is to improve the situation have taken steps in that direction. Education planners, art custodians and columnists who are usually all too keen to shout about the morals of this and that when equality of education is affected, for instance.

What is more likely to lead to inequality of educational opportunity than the criminal lack of attention given to the state of our libraries? This is tantamount to encouraging illiteracy.

Maybe this sounds like a polemical exaggeration, but it is not. Let statistics do the talking: In 1969 in all 155,400,000 Marks were spent throughout the Federal Republic on public libraries, but the theatres received subsidies worth almost *500 million* Marks! The theatres are thus, it seems, three times as important as libraries.

This anomaly seems grotesque when the potential value of libraries is considered. Statistics prove that our theatres reach at the most twelve per cent of the population. But of these only about eight per cent are really interested in the theatre.

But in a society that places a greater emphasis on improving educational facilities than many other social works the libraries should speak to all who are able to read, that is to say ninety per cent of the population.

They are the most effective, far-reaching, thorough and what is more viable source of information and education and yet the value placed on them by the government is a mere average 2 Marks 55 Pfennigs per capita of the population.

The libraries are far away from their aim of acquiring one book for every member of the population. Today a total of thirty million is available – the libraries are only halfway there.

In 1971 public libraries will receive a miserable 28,800,000 Marks for the purchase of new books. If the authors were to receive their – albeit justified – ten pfennigs per copy, which they have demanded from libraries unsuccessfully then there would only be twenty million left.

In many cases the paltry sum allowed to libraries is not enough to replace those copies that have to be thrown out because of wear and tear. There is no legislation to which librarians can turn for help and the minimal subsidies that are dispensed are given out in the most unequal fashion. Particularly those regions that are far from the big cities are in a state of emergency, where libraries are concerned.

In comparison with the library system in the United States, Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries the Federal Republic is an underdeveloped country.

This applies not only to public libraries but also to university libraries and other science libraries.

Despite the fact that the rules have been liberalised a great deal the latter are still only of any use to the educationally privileged, since they are the only people who have learnt to get on with the bibliographic aids.

These are facts that have been known for long enough, but even now no attempt has been made to raise the priority of libraries when subsidies are being handed out. Certainly one or two committees have recently made the discovery that libraries do exist and have promised for-reaching support.

The Social Democrats, too, called for libraries to be included in the government's education planning programme at the extraordinary party-political conference in Saarbrücken and stated that the funds for our public libraries in the Federal states and local governments should be increased to such an extent that this country's library system would catch up with that of other countries in the not-too-distant future. *They also* agreed that Hesse's lead should be followed and in all the Federal states the ground should be prepared for the introduction of libraries legislation.

Experience has taught us, however, how swiftly such good intentions are forgotten unless there is a lobby pressing for action. Nevertheless there are signs that the government is prepared to take the first step in this direction. Katharina Focke, State Secretory to the Chancellery, said recently that the financial outlay for the "qualitative and quantitative improvement of libraries" *must by* 1985 be about three times as *high as at* present.

But even if the handout were trebled the libraries would still only be receiving by 1985 as much as the theatres are given *today*. Needless to say the amount of money the stage demands and is given will have risen by a considerable amount by that time!

The Federal state and local governments, which support the libraries as well as the theatres, never seem to have given a thought to this anomaly. Whatever is justified for theatres must surely be more than fitting for libraries.

The sense of priorities did not become any sharper even in the days when there was euphoria about the wonders of education. Or do our elected cultural heads really expect that the theatre will provide greater enlightenment than libraries? If we are not a nation of readers, then are we perhaps a nation of playgoers – or do we all just like a nice operetta!

This is not polemic *against* our theatres, but a plea *for* our libraries to be given aid to help them improve their bleak outlook. The generous subsidies offered to the theatres show clearly that public money is there for the spending if there is a loud enough call for it.

Obviously our theatre managers and their lobby know far better how to press their claims home than do our librarians.

Therefore all those in favour of greater social justice and equal educational opportunities for all must add their weight to the librarians' lobby.

Educational promotion schemes are so empty nothingness if libraries are not boosted as the most suitable means of dissemination of information and as the best means of communication.

Günther Schloz

(Deutsche Zeitung, 20 August 1971)

West Germany's first book of books published

After more than one year of preparation the Association of Booksellers, a limited company which is the economic organisation of the Union of German Publishers' and Booksellers' Associations (Börsenverein), has published the first "Catalogue of Books in Print" (known as the VIB).

It lists the publications of 1,104 publishing houses which are available ar present, a total of 152,526 titles.

The VIB is a parallel to catalogues that have been published in other countries for many years now under the title "Books in Print". But this is the first complete survey of the West German book market, although at the moment it only takes in about half of the publishing houses in this country.

This work is a supplement to *Deutsche Bibliographie*, which catalogues newly published books, and the catalogues of the great intermediary booksellers, which contain about 75,000 titles.

The VIB is printed by Verlag Dokumentation in Munich with a run of 6,000 copies. It costs 108 Marks. The catalogue is divided into two volumes with three different sections.

The main section lists among other things authors, complete titles, the year of first publication, the publishing houses, binding, price and the International Standard Book Number (ISBN) as well as an index of titles and an ISBN catalogue.

All data has been electronically stored and can at any time be amended or added to.

The VIB will be published annually with an intermediary catalogue appearing each spring.

It is expected that in the next edition more publishing houses will cooperate and the number of titles listed will be increased to about 200,000.

The Catalogue of Books in Print, the data of which will later be taken over by a Börsenverein computer centre in addition to its present function will prove a valuable aid in the planned programme of rationalisation of the book trade in this country.

With the help of the standard book numbers contained in the VIB communications between publishing houses, wholesale book stores and book retailers will be speeded up and made cheaper.

(Die Welt, 18 August 1971)

Willy Brandt's right-hand man

Continued from page 5

can as little be solved without the participation of the Soviet Union as it can be without the three Western Powers with whom this country is already allied.

Bahr's children have almost completed their professional training. His son is reading biophysics, his daughter studying to be a medical assistant.

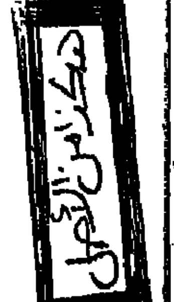
What he now wants to do is to correct mistakes that have been made for decades. He wants Germany to find its place between East and West. He wants to come to terms.

He shrugs off being a controversial figure but is hurt by accusations that he is betraying his home town. Nonetheless Egon Bahr intends to press on regardless.

He has devoted thought to what he is doing. He knows more about the recent history of Berlin than most people do. He is confident that common sense will prevail over emotion, even though the emotions may derive from a lack of understanding or a feeling of guilt about the city that used to be the German capital.

Fritz Richert

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 12 August 1971)



■ **THE STAGE**

Vietnam play premiered in Berlin church

There was a lot of talk about the play *Pinkville*, before its premiere in the Buckow Trinity Church in Berlin. This is not surprising when the playwright is as well known as George Tabori.

After his *Cannibals* the tense expectations and expected tension was great. But those members of the audience who came to see the play with this in mind went away disappointed.

Pinkville is an anti-war play. Tabori wrote it more than a year ago in New York as a requiem and it had its premiere in St Clement's Church.

The play was prompted by the My Lai massacre in the 'Pinkville' district of Vietnam. This requiem should therefore be described more accurately as a play about Vietnam.

With a team of young actors from the Max Reinhardt School, Tabori shows how peace-loving pacifists are drilled to become perfect killers.

As in New York, the play is being staged in a church after available theatres and other possible venues were rejected one after another. The building's modern architecture gave *Pinkville* all the chances of success it needed – but the chances were wasted.

The stage is marked off by a rope net hung from the pulpit and made even more like a trellis-work of bars by the introduction of rope-ladders.

The stage becomes the symbolic place described by Tabori in the original version of the play as "a jungle fortress, a madhouse, an extermination camp, in short the world". *Little remains of this intention* in the Berlin production and that is the main reason why *Pinkville* disappointed the Buckow audience.

Of course the yardsticks used to judge the play must be different from those employed for plays in traditional theatres. The arena is so well-prepared and the atmosphere is so good for demonstrating the brutal machinery of extermination that a highly-intensive drama could have resulted.

But the only yield was a one-sided anti-Americanism. It begins with the seats on the red-carpeted floor of the nave with its blue runner and white stars. It ends with the lengthy final scene in which a wooden model of the White House is slowly buried beneath a giant white sheet.

That may meet with more response in America itself where the My Lai controversy was more violent and more immediate. Paradoxically, the New York production was far more abstract and far more playable. The final scene was completely omitted.



Reading Peter Hirch's translation, it becomes plain that Tabori originally planned a far more complicated play based on events in Vietnam.

A number of figures that do not belong to the drillers or killers were almost permanently on stage. These include the symbolic mother figure Mrs O'Casey with her Pieta features, Quan, the raped Vietnamese girl, and an innocent child who is later slaughtered. In the latest shortened version of the play these characters only appear when their cue comes.

Reducing the length of the play means that it is hard to recognise the parallels to Christian ideals that Tabori draws. The main figure Jerry, a symbol of Christ, is not so clearly outlined in the latest version.

Jerry is crucified in the end and serves as a Christ figure even though he was the main leader of the extermination action in the hell of My Lai.

Jerry links together the ten scenes or "lessons". He is first of all a dreamer, then a murderer and then a victim. Tabori probably wishes to say that the gospel of pacifism does not come *too* late even after such a slaughter.

Tabori uses no professional actors with the exception of singer Inge Brandenburg as an unfortunately slushy, sentimental Mrs O'Casey. The other parts are taken by young drama students who have yet to complete their training.

Of course this robs the play of some of its intensity. None of the actors apart from Peter Kock in the lead role of Jerry managed to get everything they could out of their part.

Like the pruned dramatic structure, the characters too appear in fragmentary fashion. Whatever is said about experience and routine, it is indispensable for a successful theatrical production even if it is held in a church.

You need only think of the precision of Grotowski's ominous physical drill or the comic and perfect variations of an antiwar demonstration by Joan Littlewood. Tabori's production was also far surpassed in intensity by *The Brig*, a work in similar vein from the Living Theatre.

Little individual style crystallised from the lengthy scenes. The most impressive feature of the production was the choreographically directed group entrances and group formations.

The audience did indeed leave the church arena in silence though without any of the visual shock they were intended to feel.

Tabori's experiment must be paid the highest respect for its seriousness and its aims but it did not attain its ambition of total integration between actors, play and audience.

Lucie Schauer

(Die Welt, 26 August 1971)



A scene from the Berlin production of George Tabori's *Pinkville* starring Peter Kock as Jerry (Photo: Ilse Buhs)

Moscow and Oberhausen agree on film swop

From next year onwards Oberhausen and Moscow will exchange the films awarded prizes at the two cities' film festivals. Returning from the Moscow Festival of Short Films, Will Wehling, director of the equivalent festival in Oberhausen, stated that the Russian Minister of Film Art, Vladimir Golovnya, had approved of an exchange.

The Minister had also agreed to come to Oberhausen next April during the Film Festival to open a film programme entitled "Moscow in Oberhausen".

A year later the prize-winning films of the Oberhausen Festival will be shown in Moscow.

Moscow is the second city with which Oberhausen has agreed on an exchange programme. The Polish city of Cracow which also organises regular film festivals was the first.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 August 1971)



Peter Lehmbrock as Christie in the Hamburg production of Howard Brenton's *Christie in Love* (Photo: Rosemarie Clausen)

Mass murderer Christie portrayed in Hamburg as victim of society

In the refashioned arena of the Malersaal of Hamburg's Schauspielhaus two typical police officials, an inspector and his sergeant, confront sex murderer John Reginald Halliday Christie.

The winners are known from the outset. The brutal policemen string up the sensitive murderer. But the compulsion under which they act is no less automatic than the compulsion under which Christie killed six women.

Playwright Howard Brenton, born in 1943, does not however takes sides in his play *Christie In Love*, produced in Hamburg by Heinz Schubert.

Here and there he indicates his pity for the murderer, acted by Peter Lehmbrock. It is to Christie that Brenton gives the more credible, sympathetic, bitter characteristics.

He has given Christie the role of the repentant victim of a society incapable of emotion. But Brenton does not hint what the inspector and his sergeant are victims of.

Christie's mental composure is anything but stable. He claims, convincingly, to have loved his six victims, the majority of whom were prostitutes.

Love due to sexual longing and hate due to sexual oppression merge in his character. Their claims are high, demanding total possession. Christie first strangled his victims and then sexually assaulted them.

Hundreds of copies of a paper bearing this terminology lie crumpled up on stage representing in turn Christie's house, Christie's garden, a court of law and his place of execution.

The subconscious significance of this stage design is matched by the subconscious motivation of the three people in the play.

With *Christie in Love*, premiered in London in 1969, Brenton succeeds in providing a positivistic parable. In place of convincing proof it claims logical conclusiveness. In place of its own images it uses other images, those reminiscent of Dracula for instance.

In place of a discriminating attitude where the audience could recognise itself it proclaims that the ordinary peace-loving people are actually brutal and that the brutal are peace-loving.

Christie in Love would be of value as an example may be but not as a demonstration. Anything that smacks of reality is excluded from the plot and the text, the vulgar style of which may be aiming at literary originality.

Peter Lehmbrock acts his role accordingly. He is slow, spluttering, introverted and broken.

The two police officers act their role accordingly. They are sharp, snappy and stupid (Olschewski) or slippery, sovereign and sordid (Steffens).

The style of the production is accordingly mechanical, slow and without nuances.

Jürgen Schmidt

(Deutsche Zeitung, 27 August 1971)

■ MONEY MART

Bankers disagree on how to cope with currency crisis



Richard Nixon's statement to the people of the United States to the effect that he no longer intended to obey the rules of the international currency setup shocked the world.

Eight days thereafter the International Monetary Fund released all its member States from their obligation to guarantee a fixed rate of exchange against the dollar.

But the shock wave which hit those concerned did not come entirely unexpectedly. Experts all over the world have been predicting such a monetary earthquake for years. The Bretton Woods system had too many flaws.

Therefore there have been a number of suggestions as to how the Bretton Woods system could be improved over the years. The system had been going for 26 years and towards the end was proving to be more of a burden than a boon.

But the main concern of currency policy jugglers in the West was not at the outset the excess of hot dollars. Their major headache was the international shortage of liquid cash.

In the light of the trade expansion that has taken place it was feared that individual countries would run out of supplies of foreign exchange or internationally recognised tender and would be unable to finance their trade.

One of the weaknesses of the Bretton Woods system was that it lacked any mechanism for making the amount of money in circulation automatically correspond to the level of increasing trade.

Of course the USA immediately took over the role of ensuring that there was sufficient cash for international trade by means of the dollar. But it soon became clear that no one currency could hold the bridgehead alone.

Back in 1957 the Yale Professor Robert Triffin caused a stir with a book entitled *Europa and das Geldschlamassel* (Europe and the monetary mess). Professor Triffin launched a general attack on the gold and currency reserves standard and declared this curtly "not viable".

The only way to avoid the imminent collapse was, according to Prof. Triffin, to reform the International Monetary Fund from the top downwards. His suggestions were to change the IMF into a super central-bank to which the national currency authorities would be subordinated along with their gold and convertible currency reserves.

When Prof. Triffin suggested that gold and the dollar should be replaced by an artificial international unit of payment he inevitably put his name in the politicians' black book. As long ago as the Bretton Woods negotiations ideas such as this had had a singular lack of success.

In those days the British economist Lord Keynes spoke eloquently but in vain for a solution of this kind. Then and later the "Bancor Money" suggested by Lord Keynes did not get further than the discussion stage.

As long ago as 1958 it was first suggested that the price of gold should be raised. The chief protagonist of this move was the renowned British economist Sir Roy Harrod. It was most inopportune that the suggestion should have been made in a South African newspaper, however. This aroused mistrust, as South Africa, the world's major gold producer, would have profited the most if the price of gold were upped.

Sir Roy's demands were not exactly modest. He called for a price of $100 instead of $35 per ounce of gold, which would have almost trebled the value of the world's currency reserves at a stroke. Thus, said Sir Roy, the danger of deflation due to a lack of liquid cash would have been banished.

But his ideas did not receive any applause. A solution of this kind to the dollar problem would immediately have created chaos in the international payments system.

As soon as there were serious discussion about increasing the price of gold there would have been a flood of dollar sales and the rewards for speculators who got out of the reserve currency in time would have been handsome.

Thus the Bundesbank Vice-President Otmar Emminger justifiably dubbed Harrod's plans "the most irrational, the poorest and the most inflationary measures ever".

Sir Roy learnt his lesson and in 1961 he brought his way of thinking into line with Triffin's. At about the same time a number of leading IMF officials were racking their brains about how they could make their organisation more attractive, among them the last IMF President Per Jacobsson. In 1961 he called for a strengthening of the position of the IMF with regard to credit. Thus whenever speculation was rife and IMF could swing into action as a monetary fire-brigade.

But only once since 1944 has the Bretton Woods agreement been altered. After more than two years of talks the IMF Governor's Council passed an amendment on 31 May 1968 which involved the introduction of special drawing rights.

This was the first attempt to create liquidity according to need rather than just haphazardly. Also the turning away from gold and the central currency, the dollar, could no longer be denied. The new reserve and means of international payment became known as paper gold.

The procedure is basically simple. The Governor's Council of the IMF allows special drawing rights to member countries according to specifically laid down rules. Thereby they can buy the type of foreign exchange they require from other members. After a specified period the special drawing rights must be bought back from the same country.

Thus the problem of finding liquid cash could be solved irrespective of a lack of gold or unwanted dollars. But then the other major international currency problem would be further away than ever from being solved, namely the chronic deficit in the balance of payments in many countries and above all the United States.

World currency experts have come up with far fewer ideas of how this problem can be solved than they have for the question of liquidity. Nevertheless a few suggestions have been put up for discussion. For instance there is the system of flexible rates of exchange – floating. This has been in practice in the Federal Republic since May although it is contrary to the regulations of the IMF.

Trade with the USA

Major trading countries and their exports to the USA

1970 exports in billion dollars

Country	1970 exports in billion dollars	Proportion of exports to America
Belgium	11,6	0,7
Holland	11,8	0,5
Italy	13,2	1,4
Canada	16,1	10,5
Japan	19,3	6,0
Britain	19,4	2,3
France	20,3	1,0
Federal Republic of Germany	34,2	3,1
USA	43,2	

This country's trade with the USA in thousand million DM

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Imports	9,2	9,2	8,6	10,8	10,8
Exports	5,7	7,2	7,9	8,9	10,3

Exports to the USA in categories and thousand million DM

Category	
Office equipment & computers	0,3
Iron & non-ferrous metals	0,4
Precision instruments	0,4
Electrical goods	0,5
Iron & steel	0,7
Chemicals	1,0
Machinery	1,6
Motor vehicles	[illegible]

If a country carries out this measure consistently there is no problem of balance of payments. Parities are so arranged on the international money market that neither a surplus nor a deficit arises. Also the problem of building up reserves no longer arises. Since the balance of payments is assured gold and currency reserves are no longer required to plug the gaps in times of need.

There have always been champions of floating in the Federal Republic. One of the first and foremost is the banker and currency theoretician L. Albert Hahn. But Anglo-Saxon experts have also come out in favour of flexibility in exchange rates. For instance James E. Meade, the well-known British economist, or Milton Friedman, one of the most popular American economist today.

There is a practical reason why flexible parities are still outlawed by the IMF and only practised in exceptional cases. As soon as exchange rates are free to alter from day to day exporters and importers become uncertain. It is possible that the contracts they receive from abroad will be completed at a loss.

This would have a detrimental effect on world trade, since uncertainty is unlikely to lead to expansion in international dealings. And if the opposite extreme is reached and world trade slackens off this could lead to a worldwide recession and the situation would be similar to the days of the international economic crisis.

For the champions of flexible parities, however, the most serious problem of the day is dealing with worldwide inflation. For, with the aid of floating, imported inflation can be stopped at the border.

The price to be paid for this may be a degree of unemployment, however. Canada has already had experience of this. For most politicians this is the greater evil.

With the worldwide slump of 1929 in mind Frenchman Jacques Rueff tried to push for a return to the pure gold standard. In 1961 he challenged the United States to pay out all their debts in gold and thus bring to an end the pole position held by the American currency. This would have meant the emptying of Fort Knox.

The keenest protagonist of the mythical Gold à la Rueff was General de Gaulle. But also Wilhelm Vocke, who was the head of the *Bank deutscher Länder* had suggested a gold currency club for rich countries. And even Wilhelm Röpke a father of the social-welfare free-enterprise system, believed in the *future* of gold as a currency.

If there were a return to the gold standard the only possible reserve would be the noble metal. There would no longer be a central currency in the system. The special role of the dollar would be at an end. And countries would only be able to incur a balance of payments deficit if they were unable to cover their debts with gold.

Return to gold standard *died* political death with de *Gaulle*

But the gold standard calls for a large measure of international discipline. The system has already led to ruin once because the rules were not obeyed.

And under the gold *standard* the solution of balance of payments problems would only be possible at the expense of difficulties in the internal economy of countries. Individual countries would no longer be the masters of their own economic policies.

This idea seems to have died the death as well since de Gaulle departed the political stage. It was all too obviously slanted against America. At any rate gold producers are still hoping to do great business with a return to the gold standard, but their hopes have not been realised.

It is by no means clear whether there will be an alteration in the IMF agreement in the next few months. Since the dollar ceased to be exchangeable for gold the whole basis of the Bretton Woods agreements has been destroyed.

Critics, however, predicted this state of affairs. Three years ago Fritz Machlup stated: "This is a step that could be put into effect at any minute particularly if the Americans continue to experience a balance of payments deficit."

Despite the crisis that has been threatening for ages is now upon us, and despite many suggestions made by many competent brains it is impossible to predict how the world's leading currency countries can agree on a new international currency setup. To date even the EEC six have failed to agree.

Klaus-Peter Schmid

(Die Zeit, 27 August 1971)

Bonn second in world trade

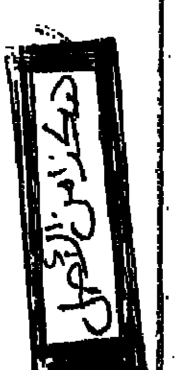
The Federal Republic's foreign trade last year was second in volume only to that of the United States, according to a report published by the Schweizerische Bankgesellschaft. The report stated that total world foreign trade for the year 1970 was approximately 570 milliard dollars.

Of this the United States had a fifteen-per-cent share putting them in first place. The Federal Republic had an eleven-per-cent slice of the cake. In the past ten years this country has succeeded in ousting Great Britain from second place in the world trade league table.

Japan, which had only 3.7 per cent and took seventh place in 1960, had advanced into fourth place by last year. Its share of the world market was 6.7 per cent.

It is likely that in the course of this year Japan will catch up Great Britain and take over third place.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 4 August 1971)



TRAFFIC

Town planners take a long, hard look at urban communications

Editors and journalists have often painted urban traffic chaos in glaring colours. Town planners such as Franz-Josef Antwerpes and Wolfgang Lötsch of Duisburg take a more sober view of the situation. A clear-headed approach to the facts and tendencies is indispensable for a change that is really to be for the better. And this is certainly the aim of the joint authors of the following article.

In his book "Towns for All" Martin Neuffer, town clerk of Hanover, writes that "A solution to the problem of the motor car is the key to all future developments in town planning."

All that needs to be added is that the car is but a part of traffic and that the solution is only to a limited extent to be found in the means available to town planners.

Traffic is an entire complex of problems extending to fundamental sociological, technological, economic and financial aspects.

The enormous growth in private motor traffic in recent years has led to a number of adverse developments that have made their presence felt in the form of growing numbers of traffic accidents, increasing atmospheric pollution, not to mention noise, and a considerable decline in the viability of city centres in particular.

On 1 January 1971 the ratio of motor vehicles to head of population in this country reached the level of one per 4.3 people, treble the 1960 proportion. Traffic spec*ialists forecast* a further increase of between thirty and forty per cent by *1985.*

The number of vehicles newly registered has risen in proportion. In 1950 a mere 150,000 private cars were registered for the first time. In 1960 the figure was 970,000, in 1969 1,840,000.

On 1 January 1971 14.3 million private cars were registered at the Motor Vehicle Registration Office in Flensburg. According to the September 1969 Shell estimate (which has so far regularly proved a little on the cautious side) there will be twenty million private cars on the roads by 1985.

Bearing in mind that in 1969 the United States had a car to head of population ratio twice that of this country the Federal Republic could well still have a long way to go.

Traffic already accounts for an annual number of road deaths equivalent to the population of a small town. In 1968, for instance, every fiftieth person in the country was either killed or injured on the roads.

Over a ten-year period one person in five ought, statistically speaking, to be involved in a traffic accident. Again statistically speaking two accident cases in three are pedestrians, cyclists and riders of two-wheelers.

The so-called safety car, which according to the latest reports will cost anything up to 4,000 Marks more than conventional models, will evidently not provide the complete solution either. What use, for that matter, is a safe car when next to no one can afford one?

Together with industrial and domestic consumers traffic accounts for a considerable amount of urban atmospheric pollution. The dangerous effect of various components of exhaust fumes such as hydrocarbons, carbon monoxide, lead, rust and cancerogenous benzpyrene is well enough known.

It is medically difficult to prove the dangerous effect of traffic noise on the human organism but the danger is a strong likelihood. Noise, it must be remembered, is not merely a matter of rail traffic or of engine and braking noises. The road surface is also important.

Miles of urban through-road are still cobbled and sound-absorbing surfaces at the trial stage. Sound measurements on autobahns are also in their early days. It is high time the Federal and state government took determined action.

The main purpose of traffic is to link the basic functions of a city: home, work, recreation, education, the arts and supplies. It is a subordinate rather than a dominant role. Traffic is an integrating component of the entire complex of the city.

Does traffic perform this function ideally in our cities? By and large it does not. In many cases towns are still criss-crossed by Federal and private railway lines, main roads and electricity pylons. Road and rail intersections obstruct the flow of traffic.

Trams and buses are blocked by the mass of private cars. Road links between districts and suburbs are frequently non-existent or if they exist slow and cumbersome.

Through traffic destroys the inner harmony of the cities. Parked cars obstruct traffic on the move. The road network is no longer able to cope with the traffic growth rate. Small wonder that the city shows signs of incipient paralysis.

There are reasons enough for this wretched state of affairs. It is due in part to a system that encourages motorisation in the same way as it did the construction of private housing estates that have gone such a long way to bring about total misplanning of our towns and cities.

Planners are frequently accused of having misjudged post-war developments.

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

One must add, however, that in the first post-war decade they would not have been given much of a hearing in any case.

Yet planners can well be accused of failing to integrate traffic planning into their overall concept. Interdisciplinary town planning is as yet in its early days in this country.

This is due to departmentalised thinking, parish-pump policies, a lack of research, shortcomings in training for planners and the underrating of planning as a discipline.

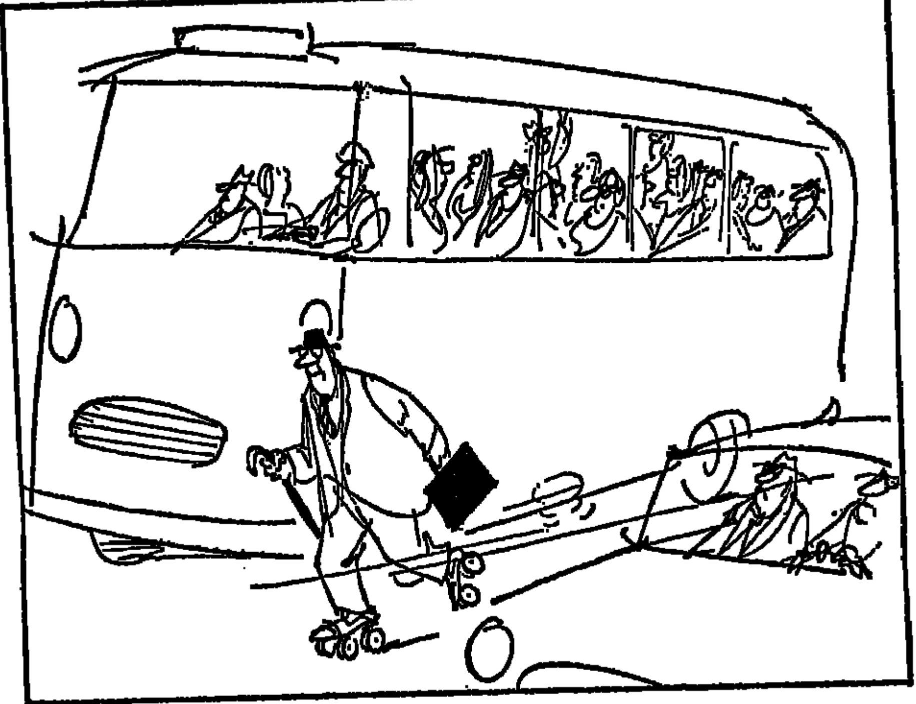
As it is, planning can no longer keep pace with the rapid growth in traffic volume. Finance and roadbuilding are even further out of the running.

These tendencies are joined by past mistakes that can only be made good by dint of operative treatment on the constructional and structural substance of our cities. Despite the enormous expense of the treatment it is not even bound to be a success either. Developments, it is clear, can certainly no longer be coped with by conventional means.

As for the extent to which roadbuilding lags behind the number of vehicles on the roads the Ministry of Economic Affairs' 1969 report entitled "Achievements in Figures" goes into details.

Between 1960 and 1969 the number of private cars on the roads increased by 180 per cent from 4.5 million to 12.6 million. The overall mileage of classified roads increased by a mere nineteen per cent from 135,200 to 161,200 kilometres (roughly 85,000 to 100,000 miles) over the same period.

This backlog is all the more formidable when it is realised that the idea ought not to be to build roads to accommodate vehicles already registered but to build with the target of twenty million private cars by 1985 in mind.



Homeward the commuters wend their weary way

(Cartoon: Fritz Wolf/Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt)

It is clear that an enormous surface area would be needed to provide the roads needed. Further inroads into the constructional substance and functional order of the cities would prove necessary.

Entire city districts might well need to be sacrificed to the Moloch of traffic requirements. For a variety of reasons (environmental, structural and the straightforward lack of acreage) these areas once converted would be dead. No one could live, work or play there again.

Legislators and planners are duty bound and intent on respecting the individuality and personal freedom of John Citizen. At the same time they are obliged to protect society from the dangers and damage outlined.

Towns are not a sum total of functions and individuals. They are a social system the existence and viability of which must be ensured. They are planned and built for people, not for cars.

In view of this fundamental planning commitment misleading slogans such as the city tailormade for cars should be consigned to oblivion. The target must be a city tailormade for people.

Bearing this in mind private traffic must be limited, especially in city centres and more particularly during the rush hour, if the cities are to survive.

This would only seem to be a feasible proposition provided that public transport is made so attractive in terms of speed, frequency, comfort, safety, value and network coverage that some commuters at least are induced to leave their cars in the garage and travel to and from work by train and bus.

This is a task for behavioural researchers. A great deal would be gained if only they would determine what changes must be made to public transport before it is accepted by the general public as a match for the private car.

Government intervention in the form of, say, a curb on motor manufacture is not a suitable approach under the present economic system.

If one includes manufacturers of electrical and metal components the motor industry has one of the highest turnovers of any in the country. Between 1960 and 1969 overall turnover more than doubled.

In 1969 more than 3.3 million saloons, convertibles and estate cars ran off the assembly lines and 57.5 per cent of them were exported. In May 1971 a new record was reported: an average daily production figure of 18,000 units, an increase of 13.1 per cent over May 1970. Exports were also 14.5 per cent up on the year before.

So any curb on production would have unforeseeable consequences both for the industry, suppliers and foreign trade as a whole.

A more acceptable proposition would, perhaps, be a partial conversion of production to, say, the manufacture of vehicles that are safer and less harmful to the environment, a change that is already foreshadowed by imminent legislation.

And providing priority is accorded to public transport production facilities could be partially converted to the manufacture of tracked vehicles.

The discrepancy between private and public transport production, facilities terms of statistics. In 1968, according to the 1971 state of the nation report by the Federal government, 3,900 million people were carried by public transport (Underground, tram, bus and trolley bus). 20,100 million people travelled to and from work under their own steam. So for every person using public transport there were 5.2 motorists, cyclists or what have you.

As for the distances covered the number of passenger-kilometres in the public sector was 18,000 million, in the private sector 268,000 million, or 14.9 times as much.

It is late in the day but possibly not too late to accord priority to public transport in planning, construction and financing. This is the juncture at which lawmakers must take the initiative.

It was not for no reason at all that Hans-Jochen Vogel, Chief Burgomaster of Munich, entitled his address to the Standing Conference of Town Councils "Save Our Cities Now."

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 29 August 1971)

Mapmakers see work ahead

Heinz Bosse, president of the Federal Republic Cartographical Society, feels that many parts of the world are poorly mapped.

At the twentieth conference of Federal Republic cartographers in Stuttgart he noted that according to the UN Economic and Social Council only 73 per cent of the Earth's land mass has been mapped at a scale of less than one to 250,000.

Only thirty per cent of the world has been mapped at a scale of between one to 126,000 and 1 to 100,000 and only 6.9 per cent (excluding the Soviet Union) has been mapped at scales of 1 to 30,000 and less.

Only 49 per cent of Europe has been mapped at a scale of 1 to 30,000 (roughly five miles to an inch), which, Herr Bosse commented, still leaves room for improvement. (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 August 1971)

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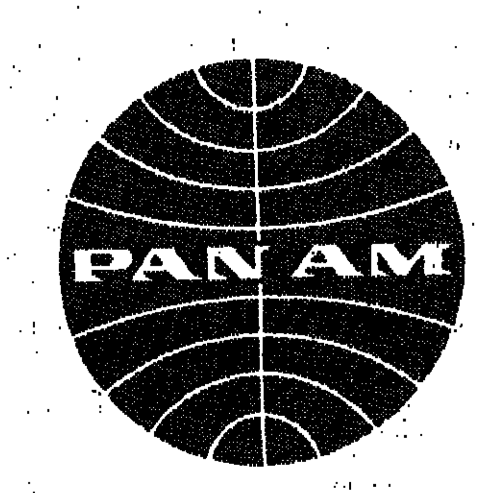
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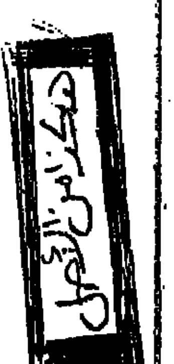
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■ HOLIDAYS

Tübingen, an unspoilt university town

The beautiful old town of Tübingen is somewhat off the beaten tracks to the sunny south, but it is worth a visit. You leave the Stuttgart autobahn and drive for forty kilometres in the direction of Switzerland through the beautiful forests of Schönbuch, where the walks are magnificent.

There you will find the little nook with the great university.

Tübingen's life is to a very great extent centred around its students and professors. The alma mater there has been for centuries regarded by the world as one of the truly great schools of Germany.

A Swabian sang the praises of his Württemberg homeland and hence the great Württemberg university thus:

Der Schiller und der Hegel, der Uhland und der Hauff, des ischt bei uns die Regel, des fällt uns gar net auf." (The likes of Friedrich von Schiller, Georg Hegel, Ludwig Uhland and Wilhelm Hauff are so common here that we don't even notice them.)

This poem misses out a great many of the major names connected with Swabia, for instance Friedrich Hölderlin, the lyric poet who died in Tübingen in 1843. He spent the last years of his life insane in a tower on the Neckar, which has been the subject for numerous postcards and tasteless water-colours and which now bears the name of the most significant German lyric writer.

It is difficult to describe a city one loves. Just take a trip down the river past the Hölderlin tower and the *Neckarfront* with its mediaeval houses palely illuminated by those revolting floodlights put there for the tourists. At midnight these lamps are extinguished – thank God the Swabians are a thrifty people!

As we drift down the Neckar the scene becomes very *gemütlich* or *ungemütlich*, depending on how you look at it. Late into the night the students sing and make a great deal of noise. But the locals want their sleep and suddenly the police are on the scene. The law swings into action, but by the time the fracas has made the local paper everyone is ready to laugh it off.

Behind the Hölderlin tower you climb up numerous steps, known as *Stäffele*, into the centre of the town and you can visit the Gothic *Stiftskirche*, the church with the beautiful windows that were described by Goethe on a visit from Weimar.

Then there is the picturesque market place at which a market day is still held regularly and flowers, eggs and kohlrabi are on sale. There we can also see that remarkable town hall with the famous or infamous façade in Wilhelminian style which is being kept even though it has caused any number of disputes and objections.

Chateau Hohentübingen has never been sacked by an enemy. Today it has been taken over by some schools in the science faculty. All around there is a maze of little back alleys, houses with pointed gables, passages, steps and little inns where the recommended drink is a deliciously mild Württemberg wine.

There are problems in the area, since there is no industry worth mentioning and therefore the amount of taxes levied is low. Money is needed badly for problems such as traffic, housing, schools and the like. Tübingen runs on borrowed money.

All this is of little interest to the casual visitor. He enjoys seeing one of the few mediaeval cities that survived the ravages of the War with its picturesque architecture, its air of provinciality, acting as host to the world at its university. One in three people who pass you in a Tübingen street are occupied in some capacity at the University.

We stop at a house with a plaque: Ludwig Uhland was born here. Uhland was not one of the greatest names ever, but opposite the poet's birthplace we see the *Evangelische Stift* at which Johannes Kepler (1571-1630) the astronomer, Hölderlin, Hegel and the philosopher Friedrich von Schelling studied. Tübingen is a little nook and at the same time a slice of the world. *Dieter Koopmann*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 18 August 1971)



An idyllic riverside view of Tübingen and the Neckar (Photo: Ernesto Fa...)

Bonn is a sultry North European hot spot

There's something unpleasant in the air in Bonn – literally. Weather researchers have stated that the climate in the Federal capital is miserable and for sensitive people almost unbearable.

The press office for the city of Bonn reported recently on a survey of the weather in the "government district", that is to say the area between Bonn and Bad Godesberg in which many ministries are situated.

Experts paint a very grim picture of the climate in this area. About thirty days every year this area suffers from excessive heat and on 45 to 53 days it is too sultry.

All year people in the Federal capital have to suffer high humidity. With 71 per cent of moderate relative humidity May is the driest month in and around Bonn. In December on the other hand the average humidity is 84 per cent.

If Bonn ministers and others who live in the city are ever accused of not seeing things too clearly they can blame the weather: with only 23 bright, sunny days every year, they have to put up with 186 days of overcast weather and 71 days of fog and mist.

According to the meteorologists what Bonn needs is a fresh breeze from the West. But it is sheltered from westerly breezes by the Eifel mountains, the Ahr mountains and the foothills.

One slight consolation for the inhabitants of the Federal capital is that their winter is milder and spring earlier than other areas. According to senior municipal official Wolfgang Hesse: "As far as the climate is concerned Bonn is the most northerly city in Italy!"

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 August 1971)

Fuggerei, Augsburg's 450-year-old almshouses, still going strong

Controversy surrounds a performance of the play *Luther und Münzer* by Dieter Forte at the Augsburg Stadttheater. In the play Forte shows Jakob Fugger "der Reiche" (the rich man) as being more of a businessman than a socially minded doer of good deeds.

Augsburg's Fugger Society has called for huge cuts in the play and views the performance of the play as a whole with distaste. But meanwhile the *Fuggerei*, the most convincing example of Fugger's sense of social justice, is in a state of jubilation.

The *Fuggerei*, "an institution that has decisively served to spread the good name of our city all over the world", according to Burgomaster Pepper, is celebrating its 450th anniversary.

Soldiers with their quarters there in the Thirty Years War and the bombing of the last War which destroyed large sections of the building complex have been unable to efface the *Fuggerei*, the world's first *Sozialwohnungen*.

And it seems unlikely that the proximity of major roads and the other threats of the seventies will shake the peace of these dwellings. This oasis of peace is a small town within a big one.

In Saugasse, Ochsengasse and Herrengasse residents of these houses for senior citizens are able to stand in the middle of the road and chat without fear of being mown down. The gates of this walled city shut promptly at 10pm and open again at six in the morning.

In order to live in one of the houses in this paradise the citizens of the *Fuggerei* have been paying since the days of Jakob Fugger the equivalent of one Rh... Guilder per year rent – the principal... of one Mark and seventy-two Pfennig. Those privileged to live in the first ... social welfare accommodation are ... dustrious but poor citizens of Augsburg.

This nominal rent was introduced by Fugger himself so that the tenants would not feel that they were being given alms. Even today the tenants pay their DM 1.72 as a symbolic remuneration for the priest. But they are expected to make a "genuine contribution" in the form of daily prayer for the founder and benefactors of the *Fuggerei*. The response of the daily Paternoster is written into the rent contract of the tenants.

In the course of time the type of ... living in Jakob Fugger's neat little houses has changed. In 1519 the 106 houses were inhabited almost exclusively by craftsmen, businessmen and artisans who were impoverished "through no fault of their own". Today the 67 houses with their total of 148 dwellings provide a roof over the head of about 350 senior citizens.

But the external appearance of the Fuggerei, which was rebuilt and extended after 1945, has remained largely unchanged. The last new house of the *Fuggerei*, built in the same style of the old has just been consecrated by the *Fuggerei* priest.

All this was built without the usual State help. When a 450th birthday party was held, slightly in advance, for those who live and work in the *Fuggerei* it was not without good reason that members of the forestry administration were given the seats of honour. For the foundation forests are still the financial backbone of the oldest group of social welfare houses in the world.

Fuggerei tenants, even those on the back benches in the marquee, enjoyed the roast pork and beer at this celebration. It was even appreciated by those who could not attend the celebration because they were at home sick.

"There's no reason why they should be punished twice over," said the administrator Dr Winfried Freiherr von Pölnitz-Egloffstein and he saw to it that the patients had their share of the pork on their sick-bed.

This is just one example of the interest shown by the Fuggers in the fate of their beneficiaries. Those who live in the *Fuggerei* are highly appreciative of what is being done for them. They never fail to bring a wreath to Jakob Fugger's grave on the anniversary of his death – and for many of them this is a great financial sacrifice. *Dieter Baur*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23 August 1971)

The quaint almshouses of Augsburg's *Fuggerei* (Photo: Archiv/Verkehrsverein Augsburg)

SPORT

...lympic cities ...e few and ...r between

DIE WELT

What will the expectations of ten thousand athletes from maybe as many as 126 countries as they march into the Olympic Stadium at Oberwiesenfeld, Munich, in a year's time?

Will they simply be hoping to take home a medal or two? Will they be expecting the usual battle of the sporting giants, America and Russia? Will they, perhaps, feel that athletes from other countries stand a chance of making a breakthrough?

One final question affects the future of the Olympic Games themselves. Who still wants to host what is steadily becoming an increasingly gigantic event? The number of applicants has declined steadily in recent decades.

A questionnaire sent by the Olympic office of *Sport Informations-Dienst* to the 126 National Olympic Committees sheds some light on the subject.

It reveals, for instance, that the Olympic idea as expressed in the adage "To have taken part, not to have won, is what matters" is a non-starter these days.

Eighty-seven per cent of National Olympic Committees are sending athletes to Munich in the expectation of winning medals. A mere five per cent feel they are unlikely to *take home a* medal or two.

Forty per cent reckon there will be another duel between Russia and America, while a further thirty per cent feel that Germans from this country and the GDR could well seriously compete with the Big Two.

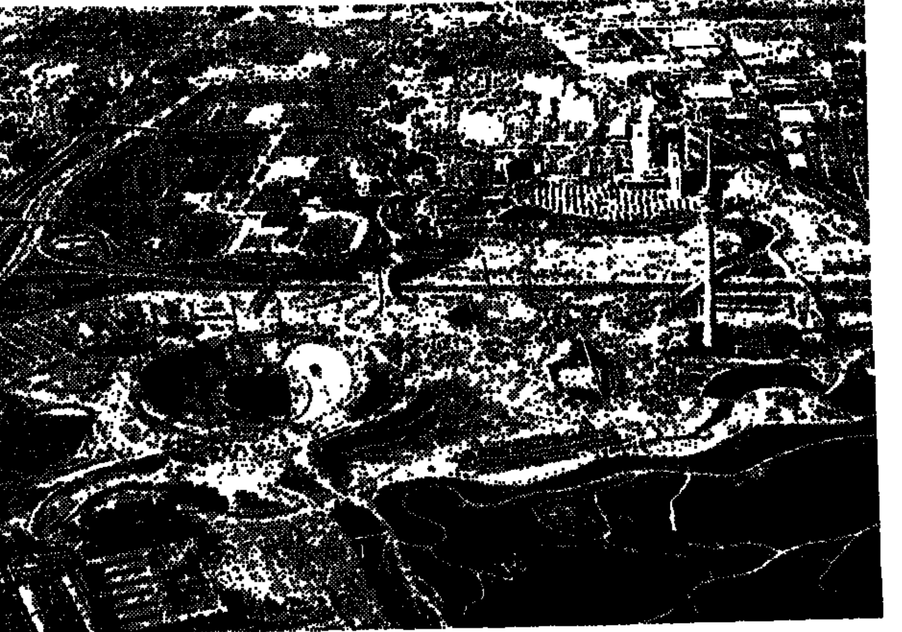
Thirty per cent felt that the chances of an outsider making the grade were nil. Surprises might, however, be sprung by African athletes.

The answers supplied by the 126 National Olympic Committees to questions relating to the medal stakes are detailed. No matter how much the International Olympic Committee may dislike the idea of league tables it remains extremely popular.

According to the forecasts the United States ought to head the list again in Munich. Seventy-four per cent of those questioned felt this was the likeliest possibility, only 23 per cent banking on Soviet athletes to pull it off.

It is considered just as much a matter of course, though, that the Soviet Union will be runner-up. Sixty-six per cent expect this outcome whereas only eighteen per cent reckon Uncle Sam will be pipped at the post.

On the other hand 10.5 per cent of those questioned reckoned the West Germans might make second place and a further 5.5 per cent felt the East Germans might manage this feat.



A view of the Oberwiesenfeld Olympic site as construction work in Munich nears completion (Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag/Max Prugger)

Forty-two per cent expect this country to come third. A further 37.5 per cent reckon the GDR will pull it off.

Will the Munich Olympics run like clockwork? There appeared to be little doubt on this point. Ninety-four per cent of the National Olympic Committees are convinced that Munich will run smoothly.

Bearing in mind that the 1976 Olympics are to be held in Montreal a further question was whether the Committees had any intention of hosting the Olympics themselves at any future date.

Thirty-two per cent replied in the affirmative. Interestingly enough, African countries are most interested in holding the Olympic Games, a tendency that must be most gratifying for the International Olympic Committee.

Forty-three per cent of those questioned went into details of why they were unable to host the Olympics for the foreseeable future. The comments were usually short and to the point:

"The Games have grown too gigantic." "We are too small to raise the necessary funds." "We run (or have run) Continental Games that have stretched our resources to just about the limit." Or simply: "Out of the question."

Comments of this kind ought to be food for thought for the international bodies that are always insisting on the best, the most up-to-date and the most perfect sporting facilities.

Some twenty per cent of the National Olympic Committees mentioned years that are so far in the future that they can be dismissed for the time being. This country's National Olympic Committee, based in Frankfurt, feels, for instance, that the Federal Republic might host the Olympics again in the year 2008, thirty-six years after Munich. *Ulrich Kaiser*

(Die Welt, 26 August 1971)

Olympic emblems earn a fortune

A year before the start of the Olympic Games in Munich it is already clear who the first winners will be. Regardless who passes the finishing post first on the day one race is already in full swing. Manufacturers are manoeuvring for position and competing to earn hard cash from the forthcoming Olympics.

In return for the use of the Olympic emblems, the five interlinked rings and the Munich spiral, manufacturers are having to pay between 1.5 and twenty per cent of the ex-works price.

Great care was to be taken to ensure that licences were not sold wholesale to manufacturers of tasteless garbage, the organisers emphasised two years ago. Already, though, the Olympic emblems are to be found on beer *steins*, mustard pots, shirts and underwear, bed linen and travelling alarm clocks.

The Olympic advertising managers initially rejected lucrative offers from manufacturers of lingerie and mail order firms dealing in what used to be termed hygienic articles. They now appear to have grown more generous. "160 licences so far granted," they disappointedly note, "have not lived up to expectations."

In order to do something about rocketing debts the Olympic organisers have gone further. There is now an Olympic dachshund by the name of Waldi, which corresponds to Fido or something of the sort. Thousands of Waldis in wood, plastic and textiles are already on the market and licences, the organisers say, will net several million Marks.

As competition can do no harm Leo and Poppi have joined the ranks of Olympic emblems too. Leo has a distinct similarity to the little lion who advertised the 1966 football World Cup in England and netted a small fortune in licence fees.

Philipp Vandenberg

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 24 August 1971)

Two thirds gone, one third to go

In the countdown for the 1972 Olympics there is less than a year to go. At present the organisers are satisfied with developments. Nearly 900 million Marks have already been ploughed into sporting facilities on the Oberwiesenfeld, Munich, site and the total expenditure will probably be somewhere in the region of 1,500 million. So almost two thirds have been completed.

Eight thousand architects, engineers and construction workers are at present working on the Olympic site. For the most part the Olympic buildings are already standing.

Furniture has already been delivered to the bungalows of the women's section of Olympic Village and over the next few weeks some 600 Munich students will move in on a temporary basis. Once the Games are over this section of the Olympic complex will be a student village.

This housing project will obviously prove an economic proposition for the city, which is more than can probably be said for the Olympic Stadium, not to mention the marquee roof that is to cover part of the central complex and is to cost an estimated 140 million Marks.

Roughly a tenth of the money the organisers propose to spend will go on the roof. It will subsequently cost millions of Marks a year to keep in trim too, no doubt.

An American by the name of Walter de Maria has suggested digging a 120-metre hole in the ground instead and topping it with sheet bronze. This would clearly be a far less expensive proposition than the roofing but it has just been rejected once and for all.

Bad news for art planners, of course. They must now think of something else. What is more, it will have to be a little more visible than a hole with a top on it.

Nature is a little faster off the mark than art. 4,200 trees have been planted and several acres of the Olympic site, which a matter of months ago was one heaving complex of moving earth, bulldozed and grey, are now green. By August 1972 180,000 shrubs will have been planted.

All the figures mentioned are gigantic. There will be 34 kilometres of road on the Olympic site. Fifteen thousand kilometres of wiring is needed for the data processing equipment alone.

The computer will know not only the age and weight of thousands of athletes but also how many children they have and whether they are girls and boys. The four to five thousand journalists who will be attached to the Games will have no shortage of background material.

At least as many policemen will also be on standby, drawn from all over the country to staff the Games. The Bundeswehr is sending sappers, pioneers and field ambulance units.

Foreign visitors will have difficulty in identifying the range of uniforms. It will include the Technical Assistance Organisation, which performs a similar function to Civil Defence in Britain, lending a hand in the event of natural disasters, the St John's Ambulance Brigade and a plethora of fire brigade uniforms from all over Bavaria. *Eckart Spoo*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 26 August 1971)

Aden	SA $ 0.05
Afghanistan	Af 10.—
Algeria	DA 0.60
Angola	Esc. 1.—
Argentina	$ m n 45.—
Australia	10 c.
Austria	S 3.—
Belgium	bfr 6.—
Bolivia	$ b 1.50
Brazil	N. Cr. $ 0.35
Bulgaria	Lev 0.05
Burma	K 0.60
Burundi	F. Bu. 10.—
Cambodia	R 4.40
Cameroun	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Canada	Can. $ —.20
Ceylon	cR —.60
Chile	Esc. 0.60
Colombia	col. $ 1.—
Congo (Brazzaville)	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Congo (Kinshasa)	Makuta 7.—
Costa Rica	C 0.85
Cuba	P 0.13
Cyprus	11 d
Czechoslovakia	Kcs 0.50
Dahomey	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Denmark	dkr 0.80
Dom. Rep.	RD $ 0.15
Ecuador	S 2.50
El Salvador	C 0.30
Ethiopia	Eth. $ 0.30
Fiji	11 d
Finland	fmk 0.50
Formosa	NT $ 5.—
France	FF 0.60
Gabon	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Gambia	11 d
Germany	DM 1.—
Ghana	cedi 0.12
Great Britain	5 p
Greece	Dr 4.—
Guatemala	Q 0.15
Guayana	BWI $ 0.20
Guinea	F.G. 30.—
Haiti	G 0.65
Honduras (Br.)	$ BH 0.20
Honduras	L 0.25
Hong Kong	HK $ 0.70
Hungary	Ft 1.—
Iceland	Kr 5.—
India	Rs 0.80
Indonesia	Rp. 15.—
Iran	Rl 10.—
Iraq	50 fils
Ireland	11 d
Israel	I £ 0.40
Italy	Lir. 80
Ivory Coast	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Jamaica	11 d
Japan	Yen 50
Jordan	50 fils
Kenya	EAs 0.25
Kuwait	50 fils
Laos	Kip 60.—
Lebanon	P 40.—
Liberia	Lib $ 0.15
Libya	50 Mills
Luxembourg	lfr 6
Madagascar	FM 30.—
Malawi	11 d
Malaysia	M. $ 0.40
Mali	FM 60.—
Mexico	$ 1.50
Morocco	DM —.65
Mozambique	Esc. 1.—
Nepal	Mohur 1.—
Netherlands	Hfl 0.50
Netherlands Antilles	G. ant 0.25
New Zealand	9 c.
Nicaragua	C 0.65
Niger	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Nigeria	11 d
Norway	nkr 0.90
Pakistan	Rs 0.60
Panama	B. 0.15
Paraguay	G. 15.—
Peru	S. 3.60
Philippines	P. phil 0.60
Poland	Zl. 0.50
Portugal	Esc. 1.—
Rhodesia	11 d
Ruanda	F. Rw 12.—
Rumania	Leu 0.50
Saudi Arabia	RL 0.60
Sweden	skr 0.60
Switzerland	FS 0.50
Senegal	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Sierra Leone	Le 0.10
Somalia	Sh So 0.90
South Africa	Rand 0.10
South Korea	Won 35.—
S Viet Nam	V.N. $ 15.—
Spain	Pts 8.—
Sudan	PT 5.—
Syria	£ S 0.50
Tanzania	EAs 0.25
Thailand	B 3.—
Trinidad and Tobago	BWI $ 0.20
Togo	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Turkey	T £ 1.25
Tunisia	65 M
Uganda	EAs 0.25
UAR	PT 5.—
Uruguay	P 20.—
USA	$ 0.20
USSR	Rbl. 0.10
Venezuela	B 0.60
Yugoslavia	Din. 1.—
Zambia	11 d